Tells the Facts and Names the Names

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Christians Reel At Satan's Onward Rush

By Alexander Cockburn

These are troubling times for evangelical Christians. The born-again president they helped elect is in the autumn of his tenure, the bold promises of Christian revival now tarnished or cast aside. Their great champion, Jerry Falwell, has gone to Judgement, leaving only the Rev Pat Robertson as their national champion. Mitt Romney, the front-running Republican contender to be Bush's successor is a Mormon, and although leading evangelical Christians have given him the nod, many foot soldiers in the service of Christ entertain doubts. "The world needs Jesus, the REAL JESUS, not Jesus the half brother of Lucifer," cries Kevin Stilley on his Christian site.

Then, there's the never-ending struggle with the Evil One in the arena of sexual temptation where, as a one evangelical put it, "Satan and his demons more aggressively attack and tempt those in Christian leadership because they know that a scandal involving a leader can have devastating results, on both Christians and non-Christians." Still fresh in the ears of the righteous are the chortles of unbelievers over the tribulations of Pastor Ted Haggard, leader of the New Life Church and one of the nation's most prominent and politically connected evangelicals. He was outed last year in Colorado by a former male prostitute declaring that Pastor Ted had enjoyed sex with him, their monthly interactions enhanced by crystal meth. In February of this year Pastor Ted had crash counseling across three weeks, overseen by four ministers, to give, as one put it, "Ted the tools to help embrace his heterosexual side," but there have been doubts, even among evangelicals, as to

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America's Debt to the Pacific
Grover Cleveland and the Funny Thing About Heroism

By JoAnn Wypijewski

In a cemetery near the university in Princeton, New Jersey, any passerby might come upon a curious sight: a weighty marble monument of the nineteenth-century style, topped with an urnlike finial and bedecked in a manner approximating the graves of Hawaiian royalty. Across the entablature's front ledge stretch garlands of fragrant ti and maile leaves; at each end, yarn replicas of a feather lei in orange and green and a multistrand lei representing the delicate golden ilima flower; at the monument's base, branches of fresh heliconia and shampoo ginger resting against ti leaves; and in the center at the top, a fresh lei of tightly pressed purple and white orchid petals, framing a document from the Hawaiian State Legislature proclaiming every April 30 as Hawaiian Restoration Day and honoring the man whose bones lie beneath this ground, Grover Cleveland.

Cleveland is something of a blur in the national imagination. The reluctant candidate, talked into running first as mayor of Buffalo, then as governor of New York, then as president in 1882, surviving a campaign dominated by hoots about a love child, losing re-election in the Electoral College in 1888 though winning the popular vote, winning again in 1892, thereby becoming the only U.S. president to serve two nonconsecutive terms, his name seems destined for Jeopardy questions. First to marry in the White House, first to have a child born in the White House, his little girl is said to have inspired the Baby Ruth… Otherwise, what? "Public Office Is a Public Trust" was his enduring slogan, and his greatest accomplishment, in a period racked by robber barons and a laboring class "trampled to death beneath an iron heel," was reform of the civil service. The "iron heel" was Cleveland's phrase, but despite the sentiment he is not remembered kindly by the children of that class, certainly not on the cusp of May Day. He was president when 340,000 workers struck nationwide for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886, when the bomb exploded at Haymarket Square on May 4 and when Chicago's fiery labor leaders were scandalously tried and hanged later that year, setting the eight-hour movement back a generation. More to his discredit, he was the man who sent federal troops to break the Pullman strike in 1894, upholding armed force and the injunction as reasonable measures against organized workers.

Yet if one starts from the presumption that all presidents are servants of the scoundrel class and that allegiance to property being the essential requirement of the job, the space for heroism is slim. So, Grover Cleveland may nevertheless be called a hero. For unlike his fellow presidents, in fact unlike many a union man even to this day, Cleveland opposed American imperialism. In particular, he opposed the U.S. overthrow of Queen Lili'oukalani on January 17, 1893, shortly before he was sworn in for the second time, and held off annexation of the islands while he was president. It is the singular credit that should forever elevate him from the trivia buff's toy box.

Hence the novelty of a band of Hawaiians adorning his grave and chanting prayers in New Jersey on the last weekend of April. The idea seems absurdist at first, a kind of tragicomic art piece ritually

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The Warbler's Parable

By Rosa Miriam Elizalde

The warbler stood up and said:
"Man sets down the law that suits him
and kills us."
Samuel Feijoó (1914-1992),
Cuban poet and folklorist

HAVANA

The blue-winged, black-masked warblers have already returned to the United States. Though their permanent residence is in Maine, in the northeastern part of the United States, every fall these birds swoop down to Cuba to escape the harsh winters of their native land, later to return, in merry flocks, with the advent of spring.

They flock to Cuba down a clandestine route, through a third country, usually the Bahamas. A birdwatcher's guidebook would place their close relatives nowhere near the island, but, for centuries, they have known that the Caribbean has very pleasant weather and that they receive a warm welcome there from the Cuban blackbird, the bee hummingbird and the pygmy owl, indigenous birds that chatter away with the warbler in chipper congeniality before each sets off to care for their nests.

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The northern warbler's winter hideaway is Cuba's central mountain massif, the Escambray. The birds pay no heed to President George W. Bush's travel prohibitions to Cuba, approved on September 30, 2004. The government regulations make all migratory movements between the two countries a grave violation of U.S. law: a severe tightening of the screws by the Bush administration on the 46-year-old U.S. economic blockade against the island.

If President Bush were to enforce these travel restrictions on the warblers, the government could impose severe sanctions against the birds.

If President Bush were to enforce these travel restrictions on the warblers, the government could impose severe sanctions against the birds, including a sentence of up to 10 years in prison and fines of up to $250,000 for each violation. In addition to violating White House provisions by traveling to Cuba, the warblers could be accused of aiding the government of Fidel Castro economically, for they are one of nature's attractions which draw ecological tourism to this Caribbean nation. That is, they could come to occupy a privileged position in the black list of the Treasury Department's Office for Foreign Assets Control (OFAC).

Is it realistic to expect the United States to impose fines or prison terms on the warblers for their brazen violation of blockade provisions? Why not? The government's record up to now is certainly in line with such a measure. With no sound logic, current U.S. law punishes citizens who go on trips not unlike those of these birds from Maine. What's more, it establishes that Cuban-born citizens can see their relatives in Cuba only once every three years, with the caveat that cousins, uncles and nephews do not qualify as relatives. It also decrees that whoever smokes

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whether Satan and his demons have in this instance been decisively routed after so brief an engagement.

And now evangelicals face fresh evidence that the Darker Forces miss no opportunity to make further ravages among the righteous. Earlier this week ChristiaNet.com, "the world's most visited Christian website," disclosed the results of a survey it has just concluded, asking site visitors questions about their personal sexual conduct. A thousand Christians answered, and ChristiaNet has now evaluated these responses with the analytic assistance of Second Glance Ministries ("a second glance at God's plan for sex"), led by Clay Jones, founder and president of SGM.

"The poll results indicate that 50 per cent of all Christian men and 20 per cent of all Christian women are addicted to pornography," Jones reports bleakly. It seems that 60 per cent of the women who answered the survey admitted to having "significant struggles with lust", 40 per cent admitted to "being involved in sexual sin in the past year", and 20 per cent of the church-going female participants struggle with looking at pornography on an ongoing basis.

"There have been dynamic paradigm shifts in the behavior of Christians over the last four years," Jones declares. "Technology [i.e., the Internet] has allowed pornography to flood the market place beyond a controllable level." The phones at Second Glance Ministries are ringing off the hook with calls for counseling from porn addicts. ChristiaNet.com's President Bill Cooper reports that "we directed over 100,000 inquiries to Second Glance Ministries in one year," and that "we are seeing an escalation to the problem in both men and women who regularly attend church."

Sex surveys regularly conducted by the University of Chicago suggest why Satan and his legions are finding it easy to beguile these evangelical Christians. Their sex lives are more vital than those paddling in the tepid mainstream, and hence they are more easily led into temptation. One past Chicago survey I have on my bookshelf claims that Americans are almost entirely straight (maybe 2 or 3 per cent gay at most), and the vast majority revel in the loyal married state and have sparse sex. Evangelicals do better. Among

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(Wypijewski *continued from page 1)*

uniting a forgotten president and a distant kingdom – except that the Kingdom of Hawai‘i is a vivid presence in the very live, if fractious, self-determination movement, and the crime of occupation, which colored the message offered up by some of its representatives and by Grover’s grandson George among others in New Jersey, is no longer a distant concept to most Americans. Earlier the group had been in Caldwell, at Cleveland’s birthplace museum and at the public library, talking about the theft of Hawai‘i. On April 30 there were more prayers, in New Jersey and at Mauna ‘Ana in Honolulu, the burial ground of Hawai‘i’s monarchs.

Prayer was a primary weapon in the conquest of Hawai‘i, tool of the missionaries, who came in 1820 and whose descendants among the planters and traders would put the queen in chains seventy-three years later. They brought Jesus and disease to people already collapsing from foreign pathogens and, as strikingly recounted in Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwa’s *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, counseled the elite that prayer to a new god and private property would be their salvation. Medicine they somehow failed to proffer.

Hawaiians died in horrific numbers – four-fifths of the population – and many who survived were separated from the land, but in 1893 they still had formal sovereignty, still had a government recognized in myriad international treaties, including with the U.S. Lili’oukalani was a Christian and wrote lilting songs that the “Missionary Boys,” as her enemies were known, no doubt thought a fitting occupation for a woman, but she refused to behave as a native ornament to Western condescension and, as head of state, moved against the entitlements of foreign property owners. This was loathsome to the American planters and inconvenient to the American military strategists who for decades had been casing the islands for potential bases, so they toppled her. The muscular Christians in the Hawaiian Evangelical Association cheered them on. “Dead and rotten is the monarchy,” wrote the editor of the association newsletter, *The Friend*, “beyond chance of resuscitation … so hopelessly fallen into heathen mental and moral vileness, it only remains to be speedily buried out of sight.”

Now prayer – more precisely, organization through the missionaries’ successor denomination, the United Church of Christ (UCC)– has been taken up by some Christian Hawaiian activists as a path toward recognition, education and redress. The delegation in New Jersey had been brought together by the Pacific Justice and Reconciliation Center (PJRC), whose president, Rev. Kaleo Patterson, has a long history of protest services and anti-military arrests in Hawai‘i. He was among a group of church members who ultimately got the national UCC to issue an apology to the Hawaiian people for its complicity in the queen’s overthrow, a rather amazing *nostra culpa* publicly declared by the national head of the church in front of Iolani Palace in Honolulu on the 100th anniversary of the coup. Later in 1993, Bill Clinton signed what is called the Apology Bill, Public Law 103-150, acknowledging the U.S. role in the overthrow, and the next year the National Council of Churches passed a resolution titled “A Stolen Nation” supporting grassroots efforts toward Hawaiian self-determination.

But Patterson and the others had never aimed simply to collect a bunch of “I’m sorry’s,” hear that someone felt their pain and pray on it. Fourteen years after the apology, the UCC has not exactly been in the vanguard advocating Hawaiian restoration or even making the theft and occupation of the islands an issue of public discussion outside Hawai‘i. Most Americans don’t know about the apology; they are surely clueless of the history. Nor has the condition of native Hawaiians after a century of occupation – with disproportionate rates of poverty, unemployment, houselessness, landlessness, ill health, undereducation and imprisonment – broken through the well-wrought image of Hawai‘i as paradise on the package deal. Enter Grover Cleveland.

A year ago, Cooper Brown, a federal administrative appeals judge and attorney who has long represented Marshall Islanders poisoned by U.S. nuclear testing in the Pacific, came upon a passage ascribed to an 1894 proclamation by Cleveland calling for a national day of prayer on the last day of April for the restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Brown is married to a Hawaiian and for some time, he said, has thought, “There’s got to be a way of getting the story of what’s happened in Hawai‘i out of Hawai‘i … You can’t go to the governing body of the governing country and move it; you’ve got to take it to the people.” Reading of Cleveland’s supposed proclamation of a commemorative day, Brown called Patterson, said, “it’s a crazy idea but let’s start it,” and in April 2006 Patterson organized the first delegation to the graveyard in New Jersey to honor the anti-imperialist president in the manner a preacher knows best – getting at the politics through prayer. That year George Cleveland addressed the group via the speaker of a cell phone. This year he stood among them, as did a Hawaiian State Legislator, Lyla Berg, who read the proclamation that now rests on the grave. There were messages of support from every member of the Hawaiian Congressional delegation as well as from the mayor of Honolulu. Prayer, as someone said, is powerful.

So, Grover Cleveland may nevertheless be called a hero. For unlike his fellow presidents, in fact unlike many a union man even to this day, Cleveland opposed American imperialism.

Grover Cleveland, a spiritual man, didn’t call for a day of prayer, as it happens. At least not by official proclamation, at least not as anyone has so far determined. He called for something far more robust: the restoration of the queen and repudiation of the planters, whose provisional government, he told Congress in December of 1893, functioned as an “oligarchy, set up without assent of the people,” indeed contemptuous of Hawaiians as “unfit for popular government” and, therefore, subject to rule “by arbitrary and despotic power.”

The bland sentence that Brown had seen, which has had a life on the Internet and in print, most likely originated in a joke on the president published in the annexationist *New York Sun* in 1894. It is not clear why the one might have been muddled up into the other – the full text of the mock proclamation in the *Sun* is caustic in its sarcasm and calls for a day of humiliation, repentance and prayer on the first day of April, in other words April

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Fools! But now opponents of Hawaiian self-determination (who unveiled the *Sun* piece) are crying Hoax! They say Patterson and the rest are left-wing charlatans, and by the way Grover Cleveland was a naïf and Lili'oukalani characterless and louche.

Commemorating Cleveland does not hinge on his alleged proclamation, and future ceremonies ought to dispense with it. In fact, said proclamation is nowhere to be found on the April 30 brochure put together by the PJRC, which features on its cover quotations by Cleveland unencumbered by religious sentiment:

"I am … amazed beyond expression by the extent to which [the American people] tolerate the fatal un-American idea of imperialism and expansion." And "… ever since the question of Hawaiian annexation was presented I have been utterly and constantly opposed to it …"

The queen was overthrown in January of 1893. By February 1, "at the request of the Provisional Government," Minister Stevens would name the Hawaiian Islands a U.S. protectorate, and the American flag would be raised over the government buildings.

Cleveland was inaugurated in March 1893, and he immediately sent an envoy, James Blount, to investigate what had happened in Hawai'i. Buttressed by Blount's findings, Cleveland declared to Congress on December 18, 1893, that the military occupation was "wholly without justification, either as an occupation by consent or as an occupation necessitated by dangers threatening American life and property."

"It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals," he said. "I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for the strong nation and another for the weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one its territory."

That Cleveland was mistaken about the national character is one of the great understatements. Having failed to broker a settlement himself between the coup-makers and the queen, he urged Congress "to make all possible reparation." The Senate, a nest of annexationists, then conducted its own investigation, issuing its own report,

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The Truth Comes Out About Offshoring

By Paul Craig Roberts

On January 6, 2004, Senator Charles Schumer (D–NY) and I scandalized the economics profession and Washington policymakers with our *New York Times* article, "Second Thoughts on Free Trade." We noted that the two conditions on which the case for free trade rests no longer exist in the present-day world, and that there was no basis for the assumption that offshoring of U.S. jobs was beneficial overall to Americans.

The Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., organized a conference, televised by C-SPAN, to subject our argument to peer review, and we easily dominated the conference.

The notion that there could be any problem with free trade is beyond the imagination of most economists.

Business Week (March 22, 2004) was receptive to a column from me explaining the adverse effects of offshoring, and Tim Aeppel at the *Wall Street Journal* organized an online debate between myself and Columbia University trade theorist Jagdish Bhagwati. Aeppel hoped to test the validity of my points in the crucible of debate with a leading academic proponent of offshoring. However, Bhagwati evaded my argument and threatened to withdraw his participation if my reference to the latest work in trade theory by Ralph Gomory and William Baumol was included in the edited version of our debate in the *Wall Street Journal* (May 10, 2004). In *Global Trade and Conflicting National Interests* published in 2000 by the M.I.T. Press, Gomory and Baumol show that the case for free trade is a special case and had never been one of general validity.

Professor Bhagwati's evasion of my argument told most people who read the edited version of our debate that he could not answer me. Obviously, all was not well with the establishment's contentment with offshoring and "globalism". Paul Samuelson, in many respects the dean of American economists, wrote an article supportive of Gomory and Baumol's work. But nothing happened. Economists simply closed ranks and ignored my points. They also ignored the latest work in trade theory. Libertarian free trade ideologues got upset with me. Unable to deny that the case for free trade had lost its necessary foundations, libertarians reduced the issue to one of economic freedom and concluded that I was impure.

Since 2004 I have written a number of articles pointing out that offshoring is really labor arbitrage and that if offshoring had the mutual economic benefits associated with free trade, there would be U.S. employment growth in export and import-competitive industries. Instead, employment in these industries has declined in the U.S.A. but grown remarkably in Asia. In the 21st century, the U.S. economy has been able to create net new jobs only in nontradable domestic services, such as waitresses and bartenders and health and social services. Moreover, the growth in productivity and GDP attributed to the U.S. economy were inconsistent with the stagnant real incomes of Americans. Somehow productivity and GDP were growing strongly, but it wasn't showing up in the incomes of Americans.

Economists have found it difficult to think about the issues that I have raised. Economists are taught that free trade is a good thing and that anyone who disputes it is a protectionist in the pay of some industry scheming to raise prices. The notion that there could be any problem with free trade is beyond the imagination of most economists.

In addition to their unexamined commitment to free trade, economists disbelieved my analysis because they thought it was inconsistent with statistics indicating high U.S. productivity and GDP growth. They thought GDP and productivity statistics trumped my use of job data.

All of this may be about to change. Susan N. Houseman, a good but previously obscure economist with the Upjohn Institute, has discovered a problem in the statistical data that produces phantom U.S. GDP. Phantom GDP results when cost reductions achieved by U.S. firms shifting production offshore are miscounted as U.S. GDP growth. Phantom productivity increases occur when gains from moving design, research and development offshore are counted as increases in U.S. productivity. Obviously, production and productivity that take place abroad are not

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which contradicted Blount and served as a reproach to Cleveland, who, isolated politically and with the U.S.A. in the midst of a devastating depression, dropped demands for restoring the queen.

The coup-makers declared their independent Republic of Hawaii on July 4, 1894, while simultaneously pressing their friends in Congress for annexation. At that moment Cleveland was busy dispatching federal troops to Chicago to crush the Pullman strike, saying famously, "If it takes the entire Army and Navy of the United States to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that card will be delivered." The press hailed him for attacking the union of Eugene Debs, "enemy of the human race" according to the *New York Times*, even as it pilloried him for holding out against annexation. It's his tragedy that he couldn't see the events in Hawai'i and Chicago were two sides of the same coin.

It's our error that Hawai'i is an afterthought, if a thought at all. The Hawaiians' retrieval of Grover Cleveland from the attic of memory would do everyone a favor if it flowered into a grand history lesson, Cleveland was caught in a classic trap, convinced of the fundamental goodness of America, of the endless opportunities it offered the individual if only capital could be restrained from monopoly and labor from unionization, if only Christian virtue reigned and the genius of meritocracy (forgetting inherited wealth) were given free play. It seems never to have occurred to him that so long as workers were being "trampled to death," no money in their pockets and no future but debt, so long as profit was king, redistribution unthinkable and new markets key, then expansion was certain and Hawai'i's annexation pivotal.

His strength is that he abhorred overseas empire as a matter of morality; his weakness, that he didn't see it coming, or perceive his own hand in it. When he was first elected, in 1882, China and Chile had stronger navies than the United States. But in 1883, Congress authorized a downpayment toward a "new navy," the first U.S. naval ships built of steel, four of them, "ABCD" in the shorthand of the time, and when Cleveland signed the authorization for them, he was signing the death sentence for Hawaiian independence ten years on. Through all his years in office, the Navy would expand. Those with qualms would be convinced this was necessary for coastal defense, but disciples of Alfred Thayer Mahan's theories on the "Influence of Sea Power" would know better. On May Day, 1898, the Boston would steam into Manila harbor for the Battle of Manila Bay in the imperial enterprise that Cleveland would call "un-American." In the patriotic flush that followed, Hawai'i was formally annexed.

Dead history? A few years ago Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa gave me a brief tour of O'ahu to illustrate the point about occupation that slipped in between the prayers in New Jersey. "You know," she said, "O'ahu is like a very beautiful woman dressed in all the wrong clothes." We were driving on one of the Interstates, which the island has only because they link the major military bases. H3, built in the 1990s over Hawaiian protests, blasted through an unspoiled valley, obliterating the largest temple remains ever found on the island and scattering the bones of entombed Hawaiian chiefs. Nowhere else in the U.S.A. is there a greater concentration of current and former military sites than on O'ahu. The military controls 21 per cent of the island: Pearl Harbor, Hickham Air Force Base, Schofield Barracks, Kane'ohe Marine Corps Air Station, as well as smaller posts, radar and communications facilities, training grounds, ammunition dumps, surveillance instruments. Fishponds and taro fields were destroyed to build bases. Mountains were hewed out for 120 tunnels where nuclear bombs and other explosives have been stored; for transportation tunnels to move equipment; for fuel storage tanks three times the size of a football field; for miles of piping through which, until the early nineties, billions of gallons of fuel were pumped from base to base.

On the island of Kaho'olawe the whole ground lights up in magnetic readings, so laden with iron is the soil after fifty years of use as a bombing range. On the Big Island, more than 100,000 acres are reserved for the Pohakuloa Training Area; one can spot blasts on the way to see the volcanoes. Kaua'i was the first testing site for DDT, for Agent Orange, and holds the largest virtual warfare center in the world. The ocean is seeded with sensors; the islands are hot with military Superfund sites. O'ahu golf courses are built on toxic military waste, capped with concrete and ventilated so the greens don't explode from trapped methane gas.

All are monuments to Cleveland's antagonists in the first crucial contest over empire; without them, U.S. global dominance, every modern war and imposed market regimen, now Iraq, would not have been possible. Beside them, as memorials go, the Grover Cleveland Rest Area on the New Jersey Turnpike positively brims with nobility. CP.

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women, conservative Christian evangelicals have the highest rates of orgasm.

Yet another victory for Satan was narrowly defeated. The Democrat-controlled Congress briefly threatened to de-fund programs promoting sexual abstinence among teenagers. Currently, according to indignant Christians, the U.S. government spends $12 to promote contraceptives for every $1 spent on abstinence. But, given the sexual apathy reported by the Chicago study, maybe abstinence is winning after all. A survey this month claims that each day more than one million condoms are sold in the United States, this being only 0.4 per cent of the population. There's no evidence, in the form of a population explosion, for the other possible deduction. CP

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(**Elizalde** *continued from page 2)*

a Cuban cigar, no matter what corner of the world they are in, must pay an astronomical fine. How, then, could it strike anyone as odd that the Treasury Department should set up a new section that employs even more bureaucrats to task them with caging and plucking the warblers, who make a mockery of these laws?

Absurdity is part and parcel of the reality of the Bush plan against Cuba. If you don't believe this, just ask Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who has just been threatened with a colossal fine of $250,000 and a prison term for smoking a Partagás-brand Cuban cigar that one of his aides bought for him during a business trip to Ottawa. He didn't even burn the cigar on U.S. soil, but OFAC couldn't give a puff about that.

So, if there is any logic in the Bush administration's laws, there should be nothing bizarre about indicting as felons the American Blue Warblers. The only hope of preventing this, as analysts maintain, will be in the courts, which may well become a battlefield when other violators like Arnold Schwarzenegger begin to appear, as in the case of Michael Moore, who was threatened with a fine by OFAC for traveling to Cuba to film a group of 9/11 veterans who, in need of medical attention but without insurance, were treated in hospitals in Havana; and, of course, when the exorbitant fines begin to rain down on the average citizen who wishes to go for a dip in the Caribbean, visit a friend, smoke a Cuban cigar, attend a lecture or, quite simply, watch his country's warblers in the open fields of Cuba's countryside.

Our hope is that common sense will prevail, the common sense that tells us

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that migratory movements between Cuba and the United States are natural, long-standing and inevitable, as much for blue warblers as for U.S. citizens.

When an attempt to prevent the exercise of this right is made, not only are constitutional rights violated, but also the most elementary and basic common sense is trampled upon.

Shouldn't human beings be as free as birds? CP

(**Roberts** *continued from page 4 col 3)*

part of our domestic economy.

Business Week's June 18 cover story by Michael Mandel explains the problem identified by Houseman. Economist Matthew J. Slaughter, a proponent of offshoring, says: "There are potentially big implications. I worry about how pervasive this is." *Business Week* says the implications are big. The cover story estimates that 40 per cent of the gain in U.S. manufacturing output since 2003 is phantom GDP.

It's likely this estimate is low. Consider, for example, that furniture imports have doubled in the past few years (offshored production counts as imports) while U.S. jobs in furniture manufacture have declined 21 per cent. U.S. statistics, however, show that U.S. output and productivity rose even as U.S. manufacturers closed their plants and no new investment went into the industry.

My hat is off to *Business Week*. It requires courage for a publication dependent on advertising from global corporations to tell the truth about offshoring. CP

Dr. Roberts is an economist who has held numerous university appointments and served as assistant secretary of the U.S. Treasury.

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